



# THE AMERICAN

## A NATIONAL JOURNAL

VOL. XXX—No. 758

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1899

PRICE FIVE CENTS

### THE AMERICAN.

A NATIONAL JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY ON EACH SATURDAY.

[Entered at the Post Office at Philadelphia as matter of the second class]

BARKER PUBLISHING COMPANY, PROPRIETORS.  
WHARTON BARKER, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.  
BUSINESS AND EDITORIAL OFFICES,  
Rooms 24 and 26  
Forrest Building, No. 119 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia.

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\*Address through Post Office: THE AMERICAN, Box 1202, Philadelphia.

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#### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.  
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
Opposition to Trusts.  
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

MR. BRYAN has added fuel to the family quarrel in the Democratic party. He has repelled the advances of the harmonizers, hurled them back in their faces. Personal differences will I ever be ready to strive to harmonize, but differences of principle never. In the famous words of a famous man: Rather be right than President. And if it were not that if differences of principle were harmonized in the Democratic party Mr. Bryan could not again be its candidate, this would be heroic.

But by standing uncompromisably by free silver, refusing to harmonize differences on this question by tacitly dropping it, keeping open the feud in the Democratic party, he is not shoving the Presidency away from himself. True, while that feud exists the election of any Democratic presidential candidate is, humanly speaking, impossible. But if that feud be bridged by dropping this cause of irreconcilable differences, the silver question, and pushing other issues to the fore, Mr. Bryan's chance of securing the Democratic nomination is gone. If the differences be not harmonized Mr. Bryan may be the candidate of the Democratic party without a winning chance; if the differences are harmonized and there is a winning chance some other than Mr. Bryan will be the chosen candidate, have that chance. Such is the situation and it is a situation that gives strength to the harmonizers, another name for those who put money and spoils before principle, who would firmly attach the Democratic party to the cause of plutocracy.

So it is in no way surprising that Mr. Bryan should have thrown a firebrand into the camp of the harmonizers. Sooner or later it was inevitable that he should throw it, strive to halt the movement for harmony which means the abandonment by the Democratic party of the issue he has declared to be paramount, means his removal from the leadership of the party, for the issue for which his personality stands subordinated to others he ceases to be the logical leader. That he might not be supplanted as leader, that the issue for which he stands might not be supplanted by some other, that he might keep himself and the Chicago platform to the fore, keep Gorman and those things in politics for which Mr. Gorman stands in the rear, he hurled his firebrands into the midst of the harmonizers assembled around Mr. Croker and planning a banquet in honor of Jefferson with the hope of making some progress toward welding together the Democratic factions by uniting the leaders and men of weight in the party, and commanding a following, around one common festive board to do honor to the memory of him that all factions of Democrats lay claim to as their patron saint. Under the auspices of the Democratic Club, of New York, and under the direction of Perry Belmont, one of the prime movers in the Palmer-Buckner movement of 1896, this banquet was arranged for and Mr. Bryan duly invited. He seized the opportunity to make a political issue out of the invitation and fan into hotter flame the Democratic feud. He demanded to know of Mr. Belmont whether he now supported the Chicago platform, whether he had repented of his course in 1896, whether he had recanted, and getting a negative answer, Mr. Belmont deprecating at the same time the spirit that prompted such questions and declaring that no one would be refused a welcome because of his principles, that men holding honest differences of opinion could properly and with advantage meet around the same festive board, that in sending out the invitations men's principles had not been inquired into beforehand and that those receiving such invitations had no occasion to make the principles held by those sending out the invitations a basis for

declinations, Mr. Bryan hotly rejoined that Democrats opposing the Chicago platform had no right to claim Jefferson for their patron saint, that he could not compromise himself by banqueting with such so-called Democrats, that argument on the silver question within the Democratic party was closed, that those who persisted in debating the question from the view point of party policy were untrue to their party, were in fine allies of the moneyed oligarchy masquerading as Democrats and with such he would not associate.

SUCH was the position Mr. Bryan took in regard to this banquet that it was hoped would be a step to so harmonizing differences in the Democratic party as to give it a chance to win. Mr. Bryan has used it to further destroy harmony, make more bitter the feud.

Free we are to confess that the motives of the harmonizers who approach each and every issue with the question, is it a winner? and shape their attitude toward such issue by the answer, are not very high and that the motives of Mr. Bryan are susceptible of much more favorable and laudatory interpretation, though it must be said that reasons of self interest if alone listened to would have impelled him to the same position he takes, for with him as leader of the Democracy the keeping open of the feud is a fight for self preservation. But in throwing his firebrands Mr. Bryan chose an inapt occasion and threw them in a blundering way.

In refusing to associate with Democrats at a banquet held under the auspices of a club whose chief membership is opposed to the re-adoption of the Chicago platform by the Democracy in 1900 and opposed to free silver coinage, Mr. Bryan made a serious mistake. In declaring it to be un-Democratic for Democrats to debate the question of free silver coinage and work to prevent a re-affirmation of the Chicago platform, Mr. Bryan carried the doctrine of majority rule in the party to unjustifiable lengths. In assuming that the Chicago convention settled the silver question in the Democratic party for all time, closed debate and that for a Democrat to reopen it is to read himself out of the party Mr. Bryan puts himself in position to be hoisted by his own petard, for on the same principle he ought to consider the silver question closed, and closed adversely to free coinage, by the vote of the country in 1896, and he ought to feel it is an un-American act to re-open it just as he says it is un-democratic for a Democrat to re-open the question within the party.

THE Democratic convention having declared for silver no one has a right to work within the Democratic party for a reversal of that declaration. This is Mr. Bryan's position. And carrying out this principle to its logical end we get this corollary. The American people having declared for gold in 1896 no American has a right to keep up the fight for silver. And the hint that he, as an American, should consider himself bound by this principle, the principle he insists Democrats as Democrats should consider themselves bound by, Mr. Bryan would bitterly resent. Then why should not the gold Democrats whom he declares have no right to a hearing as Democrats equally resent his declaration?

True, Mr. Bryan ended his book, "The First Battle," meant to become famous but the very name of which is almost forgotten, by quoting a poem of encouragement to the downtrodden and defeated, a poem voicing the sentiment that no question is settled until it is settled right. And as, according to Mr. Bryan, the silver question was not settled right by the American people in 1896, of course he has the right to keep it open; as it was settled right in the Democratic convention, no one has a right to re-open it in the Democratic party. But who is to decide when a question is settled right? Clearly it is a question that everyone must decide for himself; Mr. Bryan can scarce deny this; presented to

him fairly he must affirm it. Yet he has denied to Democrats antagonizing him the right to settle this question, declaring that as good Democrats they must accept the position taken by the Democratic party in 1896 as settled. Such Democrats might rejoin by declaring that as a good American he ought to accept the verdict of the people against free silver in 1896 as final. Mr. Bryan works for a reversal of that verdict of the people, why should not Democrats opposed to him work for a reversal of the verdict of the Democratic convention of 1896? As good Democrats the great majority of the members of the New York Democratic Club, Mr. Belmont not being among the majority, accepted that verdict in 1896, as Mr. Bryan, as a good American, accepted the verdict of the people. But as final Mr. Bryan did not accept the verdict of the people, as final the gold Democrats, who voted for Bryan, did not accept the verdict of the convention that nominated him.

Clearly Mr. Bryan is in the wrong, he blundered in intemperately scolding those gold Democrats who voted for him in 1896, but who are now working to have the party reverse itself in 1900 as it did in 1896, as it did in 1880, as it has done on many occasions. He should have gladly accepted the opportunity to reason with these men, "seized upon the occasion of the Jefferson Day banquet of the Democratic Club as a priceless opportunity to win needed support by a statement of his principles and an exhibition of his abilities in a great unconverted community." But what has he done? Turned down this opportunity, refused the opportunity to reason with those opposed to him and gain the support by which alone he can succeed, and accepted an invitation to speak at another banquet gotten up in opposition to that of the Democratic, Croker, Club, where the banqueters will hold principles in accord with his own, where there will be no converts to make, where he may win applause by a speech addressed to the passions and not to the reason. He will never win his way to the White House by pursuit of this course. He is hurting himself and the cause he espouses and aiding his enemies.

THE truth is Mr. Croker was quite right when, in commenting on Mr. Bryan's course, he said: "In advance of the convention we have as much right to oppose free silver as Mr. Bryan has to oppose gold. Mr. Bryan should not fix the issues for 1900 before the party fixes them. We of Tammany are, first, last and always Democrats." And this is not to be gainsaid. Again, says Mr. Croker, "I want to unite the party. We need a united party, and the best way to unite it is to bring its quarrelling factions together."

But a united party in Mr. Croker's meaning is just what Mr. Bryan does not want, for a united party would mean the supplanting of Mr. Bryan and the issue that he especially espouses, mean the probable choosing of Mr. Gorman as the Democratic candidate for President, mean the making of the fight on other issues than that of the silver question, which would be relegated to an inferior place in the platform, and so straddled that the silver Democratic leaders who wanted to support the ticket,—and most, being Democrats first, last and all the time, would want to,—would find no difficulty in harmonizing their convictions with the platform, while those Democrats who wanted to bolt would find themselves embarrassed by the impossibility of pointing to anything explicit in the platform showing a reversal of position, an abandonment of principle such as would be recognized as justifying a bolt. Of leading Democrats we would look in such case for only two to bolt the convention, Altgeld and Tillman.

Naturally Mr. Bryan wants to prevent the nomination of Mr. Gorman and the making of such a platform. And seeing the attempts to harmonize differences would, if successful, have such results he seeks to break wider open than ever the Democratic party. Indeed it looks very much as if he was bending his efforts to build up a Democratic party organization in New York



state separate and distinct from the regular organization; with a view to having the new and outside organization send a delegation to the next national convention claiming the right to speak for the Democracy of New York, as being chosen by the only organization true to the Chicago platform, and therefore the only organization entitled to recognition by a Democratic convention. Then the National Committee, controlled by silver men, and making up the temporary list of delegates, would be expected to put this delegation on the roll, put the delegation of the regular organization in the position of contestants. This policy followed in several of the eastern states would put the Chicago platform delegates in control of the convention and make it possible for them to keep control by deciding in favor of the rump delegations and keeping out those regularly chosen.

SUCH may be the plan of Mr. Bryan and his friends; to further such a plan may be his purpose in using his personality to stir up a factional Democratic quarrel in New York. But if such is their plan they are indeed in desperate straits, must feel that in a square battle for delegates and fight for control of that convention they would be beaten and the gold men succeed for to pursue such a plan would split wide open the party, make possible, if successfully carried out, the nomination of Mr. Bryan, but make impossible his election. So only as a last resort, after a dashing of all other hopes, can we conceive of Mr. Bryan and his friends turning to this plan. Yet we believe the thought is cherished. Indeed, Ex-Governor Stone, of Missouri, when interviewed in New York last fall, openly announced such to be the plan of the silver Democracy. We believe if tried it will fail because of lack of support from the Democrats of the South, because of a general drawing back of silver Democrats from following Mr. Bryan in such a revolutionary and drastic course. The Democratic political horoscope points decidedly towards Mr. Gorman as the Democratic candidate. This is as we view it.

STATE taxation is imposed on a very different basis than our national taxation. The nation largely gathers its revenues by taxes on consumption, the states raise the great part of their revenues from direct taxes on real and personal property. But as much, indeed nearly all personal property is hidden from the assessors and the personal property taxes sworn off, which means a general taking off by false swearing, the generality of rich men seemingly not hesitating at perjury to rid themselves of taxes, the burden of state taxation falls almost entirely upon real property. And as franchises are in general not assessed as real property and as the value of securities of various kinds, railroad and street railway, gas and light, etc., depends very largely upon the value of those franchises, is indeed a monopoly value, and as the holders of these securities evade the personal property taxes that they should pay on such holdings it follows that those who have their wealth invested in such property largely escape taxation, their property being taxed on only a small part of its value as corporate property, and they swearing off the taxes imposed on it as personal property.

Of course the result is that the tax burdens of those who have their wealth in personal property, in bonds and stocks, are shifted largely upon those who have their wealth in real property. As a consequence the former pay less than their share of taxation; the latter, including the farmers, the wage earners who own their homes, as well as the landlord class, those who own property they do not themselves use, pay more than their share. Further, as the taxes on real property are assessed on the value of improvements as well as the monopoly value, much of the increased share of taxes paid by the landlords is shifted upon their tenants in the shape of increased rents. Thus is state taxation most inequitably distributed and there is a crying demand for reform.

SUCH is the problem of taxation that confronts our states.

Most of our legislators, quite under the thumb of the corporations, are, however, very chary of the question. They hesitate to rectify a wrong that benefits corporations that they and their parties are often deeply indebted to for financial assistance. But the New York Legislature, under the prodding of Governor Roosevelt and fearing to antagonize an awakened public opinion has tackled the problem. To the State Senate has been reported a bill directing that franchises be assessed and taxed as real property. Heretofore franchise values have escaped taxation in the state and such values are enormous, constituting in many cases by far the major part of the value of the bonds and stocks issued upon various properties built and operated under public franchises, such as steam railroads, street railways, etc. Many are the instances now where the securities of street railway corporations have a market value of three or four times what the roads and plants could be constructed for. And all this excess value is what? It is the value of the public franchises, value of the monopoly conferred by the public and of the power given thereby to levy a tribute on the public, for be it understood that corporations enjoying public franchises are operated for private gain and so as to squeeze out of the pockets of the public just as much as possible.

Now it is proposed in New York to tax these franchise values just as the other real property of corporations. Of course, the corporations, the holders of the securities of such corporations and who have largely escaped taxation, are up in arms. Moreover, at the behest of these corporations the bosses of both Republican and Democratic parties who have been liberally supplied with campaign funds by these corporations, to say nothing of being offered many opportunities to get in on deals for their personal gain, are moving in unison to defeat the measure—"a measure," says the *New York Herald*, "in many respects the most important before the present Legislature. As a matter of course, the corporations that are reaping millions of profit from the people through the exercise of these franchises are fiercely opposed to it, and it is a corollary that both the machines desire to block its progress."

Let us hope that the public demand for the passage of this bill will be so strong that the party bosses will quail before it and an entering wedge for equitable taxation be driven. If the people had the power of directly voting such measures there would be no question of their becoming laws. The addition of the principles of the initiative and referendum to our system of government would be an entering wedge for the securing of justice all round.

A TAX assessed upon franchise values and collected from the corporations holding public franchises is of course an indirect tax on the security holders, which tax is bound, however, to fall somewhat inequitably wherever there are several classes of securities, and for this reason. The tax collected from any company enjoying a public franchise must reduce the net earnings of such company, and the net earnings being reduced there will be less to divide among the security holders. But the holders of the bonds and prior liens have a preferred claim to such net earnings and their interest returns and dividends will be in no way reduced while the net earnings are large enough to provide for such payments. Consequently the net reduction in earnings because of the tax will fall on the junior security holders, on the stockholders rather than the bondholders. The junior security holders must then at first bear the brunt of a tax on franchise values.

Some are inclined to think that the corporations thus taxed on their franchises would pass along the tax to the people, charge them higher rates. But this the corporations could not do. In the first place the charges of many of the transportation companies are fixed by law, and, in the second, in the possession of public franchises conferring upon them monopoly they are now charging all that the traffic will bear, that is, charging prices

that in their estimation will yield them the largest returns. Consequently, if they are right in their judgments, to raise rates would be to reduce returns, they losing more in a falling off in traffic than they would gain in increased rates and fares. In short, the raising of rates would result, they calculate, not in raising net receipts but decreasing them. What all those corporations enjoying a monopoly strive to do is to strike that medium of charges, that medium between small business and large percentage of profits and small profits and large business which will yield greatest returns. There is a point above which those possessing a monopoly cannot raise charges without doing themselves injury, diminishing their profits, and this point all corporations enjoying monopolies endeavor to ascertain, and at such point they fix rates. So clearly they cannot pass a franchise tax along to the people, for by raising charges they would not get more tribute from the people but less. It is a firm rule that taxes on monopoly values cannot be passed on, cannot be shifted, but must be paid by those assessed. And a tax on franchises is a tax on monopoly values.

Pennsylvania, which stands much in need of more revenue, could well profit from New York's example. But our legislature is too much under corporation influence to give any ground upon which to rest any hope of the following of an example so worthy.

THE Cuban squall raised by the decree of the military assembly reprimanding General Gomez, and dismissing him from the service for working with the Americans to hasten the disbandment of the Cubans in arms, their return to peaceful and productive occupations and the complete pacification of the island in order that the evacuation of the island by the American troops and the setting up of an independent government might be hastened, seems to have passed over. The assembly in antagonizing General Gomez only served to bring out evidences of his popularity and emphasized the fact that among Cubans his influence is paramount. So the blow aimed at General Gomez recoiled upon the assembly, discredited it to such a degree that there is nothing left for it to do but to dissolve.

The disbandment of the Cubans in arms has already made much progress, as appears from the reports made by our commanding generals in the different provinces, who caused a rough census to be taken of such troops as a guide for the distribution of the three millions of dollars sent down to Cuba to hasten the pacification and rebuilding of the island by giving the Cubans in arms some little capital with which to begin again the cultivation of the soil. From this census it appears that only some 13,000 Cubans are undisbanded, and that in the province of Santiago there are no Cuban troops at all, all having been disbanded.

WHAT is going on in the Philippines, and what the prospects are of the early establishment of peace either through the efforts of our soldiers and the crushing of Aguinaldo, or the efforts of the President's special commission and proclamations promising amnesty and some degree of autonomy when we get ready to grant it and conceive the Filipinos fit to receive it, is more than we know. The reports that we have are conflicting in the extreme, reports that are favorable, reports that are very discouraging when read between the lines. And withal there is a deplorable lack of information about the islands that leads to the acceptance of all kinds of unlikely stories and adds greatly to our perplexity. For instance, on the island of Negros we are told that 20,000 tribesmen, savages of the interior, are on the war path, threatening to precipitate themselves on our handful of troops in the island to say nothing of the Filipinos who put themselves and their property under our protection. Now, as near as we can make out the whole population of this island, which is long and narrow, about 130 miles long and of an average width of twenty or so miles, is only 150,000, and the savage men of the interior are the dwarfish Negritos who it is said are more

numerous on this island than in any other of the Philippine group. But these primitive people, who are in no way akin to the Malays who form the great bulk of the population, are such a rarity in the islands and they are so shy that a glance can hardly be gotten of one of them, and living in the mountains no one is quite sure on what islands a remnant of these people, doubtless the aborigines, are to be found and on which they are not. All told they number, it is believed, no more than 25,000 persons. Of a stature of about four feet and a half the warriors, whose most deadly weapon is the poisoned arrow, can hardly be said to be formidable foes.

The mass of the people of Negros, Visayans, are scattered in fertile plantations around the coast line and are far from savages. If there are any 20,000 tribesmen in that island threatening our position, there must be a general revolt on the island or have been an incursion from the neighboring islands of Panay or Cebu, both much more populous and in the former of which there was quite a serious battle last week. The inhabitants of Cebu are said to be friendly, but our force in both islands, to say nothing of Negros, is so small that our troops are virtually cooped up, as they are at Manila, and know little of the movements or force, intentions or strength of their enemies.

HERE are some discordant notes that grate on the reports of general prosperity and that we cite, not that we enjoy the portrayal of the discouraging, not that we find any pleasure in retailing the unpleasant, but because we believe they portray the truth. They must be true for they are taken from the *Philadelphia Press*, a paper, up to within a few months, under the direction of a member of the President's cabinet, our Postmaster General. These are citations from the report on business conditions for last week:

"Steel rails and other iron products have risen to a level which would preclude exports if this advance affected anything but the small margin outside the great contracts running for half a year under which all the big mills are running. Wheat, corn, and cotton fell and imports rose, while the February foreign trade returns showed that the excess of exports over imports, so long dominant, had received a definite check. \* \* \* Wool hangs without change, and trade both in wool and woollens awaits the readjustment of capital on a large scale in new combinations. Boot and shoe shipments from the East also show no signs of recovery and are less than last year. When it is remembered that the takings of northern mills in cotton are 67,390 bales less than last crop year, boot and shoe shipments less than for the calendar year and the woolen trade less prosperous, it will be seen that the manufacturing prosperity does not equal the speculative."

One other fact is also to be noted. The general tendency of prices is downward for the first time in several months and "for the first time in many months, the volume of failures begins to be larger week by week than a year ago."

THE Legislature of California, like the legislatures of Delaware and Utah, has adjourned without electing a Senator. In the legislatures of California and Delaware the Republicans were in large majority, in California overwhelmingly so, as were the Democrats in the Legislature of Utah. But large majorities failed to serve the dominant parties. In all three states money played a prominent part; in California and Utah there were open charges of corruption and legislative investigations that ended in fizzes as they invariably do. In all three states were the deadlocks precipitated by a rich man aspiring to the Senate and with no other claim to preferment than money gives. That in no one of these states a sufficient number of legislators bowed down to a worship of Baal so far as to make possible the election of men who appeared to think their money and corporation influence ought to entitle them to seats in the United States Senate is perhaps cause for thankfulness. But that such claimants who would rather see their states go without



representation than see others than themselves elected to fill the places to which they aspired, and even though those others advocated the same principles, the same general line of policy that they claimed to believe in—such claimants putting self before states should have been able to prevent any election is cause for humiliation.

That the Legislature of Pennsylvania will follow in the wake of the aforementioned three is probable and then when the United States Senate meets again there will be four vacant chairs, mute but unanswerable arguments for the need of reform in the manner of electing Senators, and reform that should be sought in popular election. By direct vote of the people and by plurality vote should Senators be elected and then deadlocks would be impossible, one of the great sources of temptation that brings venality into our legislatures be removed.

AT HOW much does Philadelphia value her citizens? Forty-nine hundred typhoid cases since the first of the year, five hundred and ten deaths—all preventable. After the city of Hamburg was scourged with cholera seven years ago, after she had suffered not only the loss of hundreds of her citizens but hundreds of thousands of dollars from paralysis of trade, she learned the lesson, put in filter beds, gave to her people comparatively pure and not disease charged water and reduced her average death-rate by 40 per cent. Probably Philadelphia can't do so well, for bad as is her water supply it is measurably better than that of Hamburg when she thought her dollars were worth more than human life, before she found what trade losses a neglect to spend her money to give her citizens decent water might entail. But Philadelphia's city fathers could reduce the death-rate of the city by at least one-fourth, perhaps one-third if they would—if they cared more for the public health than for the pocket interests of a few men planning to get control of the city's water works.

At a yearly cost of \$400,000 a year, a sum sufficient to cover interest on an investment of capital sufficient to build ample filter beds and also to maintain such beds, or a cost of \$100,000 a quarter, Philadelphia could banish typhoid to say nothing of other preventable diseases. And in the last three months typhoid carried off five hundred of our citizens. Were they not worth to us \$200 a head? And besides have we had five thousand typhoid patients. Would it not pay us better to pay \$20 for pure water than have a typhoid patient? How much more than this have we spent in the nursing?

#### An Easter Outing—Six-day Tour to Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The fourth of the present series of personally-conducted tours to Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington via the Pennsylvania Railroad will leave New York and Philadelphia on Saturday, April 1, affording a delightful Easter outing.

Tickets, including transportation, meals *en route* in both directions, transfers of passengers and baggage, hotel accommodations at Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington, and carriage ride about Richmond—in fact, every necessary expense for a period of six days—will be sold at the rate of \$34.00 from New York, Brooklyn and Newark; \$32.50 from Trenton; \$31.00 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other stations.

#### OLD POINT COMFORT ONLY.

Tickets to Old Point Comfort only, including luncheon on going trip, one and three-fourths days' board at that place, and good to return direct by regular trains within six days, will be sold in connection with this tour at rate of \$15.00 from New York; \$13.50 from Trenton; \$12.50 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other points.

For itineraries and full information apply to ticket agents; Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 789 Broad street, Newark, N. J.; or Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

## CHAIRMAN PARK CALLS POPULISTS TO ARMS.

**Buckle on the Armor, Sound the Bugle Call That Money May Be Dethroned from Democracy's Temple, Man Enthroned.**

**Organize and Victory Is Ours.**

MILTON PARK, Chairman of the Populist National Committee, has issued an address calling Populists to arms; not to organize and follow him in a forlorn hope, but to organize for victory. Let the response be earnest and cordial, let his directions be followed, let the true and honored Populists he calls upon to assist him buckle on their armor and go to work, not with the despair of men fighting for a lost cause, but with the enthusiasm born of the anticipation of victory, let the work of organization be pushed along the lines laid down at Cincinnati, and true men believing in the principles of Populism, the principles of popular government, will come flocking to our standard by thousands, regardless of their past party affiliations, and victory will be won, plutocracy dethroned from the temple of Democracy, man enthroned and our people come again into the full possession and free enjoyment of rights that are the inalienable heritage of man. The general staff Mr. Park has chosen could not be improved upon—all sincere, honorable and enthusiastic Populists commanding respect, worthy of trust, fitted to point the way out of the wilderness of darkness into the lightness of day.

Let henceforth the watchword be onward. Let it be repeated from post to post, let no man falter until the cry has circled the earth, and peace—peace and justice for the masses be secured upon earth. Let all lovers of liberty, let all men who believe that men are born with certain inalienable rights and that the foremost among these are life, which means work, liberty and the pursuit of happiness read and take heed. Chairman Park points out the way for making an effective organization; let Populists go to work, make such organization and win. We move forward on to the firing lines not to lead a forlorn hope, but carrying on our banners the gospel of peace, proclaiming the brotherhood of man and to win.

HEADQUARTERS OF PEOPLES PARTY NATIONAL COMMITTEE;  
MILTON PARK, CHAIRMAN.

*To the Populists of the United States:*

DALLAS, Texas, March 17.—The Peoples Party National Convention, which met at Cincinnati, September 5th and 6th of last year, resolved to make a straight fight for reform on the lines laid out at Omaha in 1892, and adhered to ever since by all straight Populists. An address was issued to the people of the United States giving the reasons why this should be done.

A declaration of principles was adopted and given to the people of the country. Wharton Barker was nominated for President and Ignatius Donnelly for Vice-President, subject to the approval of the rank and file of the party, voting through precinct clubs to be established in accordance with rules there adopted for the government of the party. This address and platform should be read and well considered by all those who propose to vote and work for straight populism. To the end that victory may crown our efforts in the near future, I invite the hearty co-operation of all citizens who are dissatisfied with the course of the Democratic and the Republican parties. The small

vote cast at the state elections in 1898 proves the great dissatisfaction that exists among the people and their unwillingness to support either of the old parties.

There is urgent need for a party standing for equality of opportunity and against special privileges. The Populist party supplies this need. The great mass of the people of the United States are Populists at heart, though they do not acknowledge it. They recognize the injustice and inequality of many of the laws on our statute books and the indisposition of either of the old parties to remedy these conditions. They realize the futility of waiting for reform under the management and methods of either of the old parties. They have been dissatisfied for years. In 1884 the Democratic presidential candidates were elected; in 1888 the Republican candidates; in 1892 the Democratic candidates; in 1896 the Republican candidates. An opportunity opens before the Peoples party such as has seldom been offered to any party, which, properly utilized, will lead to success; will overthrow the rule of plutocracy that now cramps our energies, hinders our growth, denies the comforts of life and the pursuit of happiness to the many, and debauches with its corruption the few.

To insure the success of the Peoples party there is nothing needed but effective organization; and in order to press this work vigorously, persistently and successfully, as chairman of the National committee, I have selected to assist me the following well known and reliable Populists, to each of whom I have assigned a group of states to organize by counties and precincts, as follows:

To Hon. Frank Burkitt, of Okolona, Miss.,—Mississippi, Alabama and Tennessee.

To Hon. William Phillips, of Marietta, Ga.,—Georgia, South Carolina and Florida.

To Hon. Jo. A. Parker, of Louisville, Ky.,—Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland.

To Hon. John O. Zabel, of Petersburg, Mich.,—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, California, Oregon and Washington.

To Hon. L. C. Bateman, of Auburn, Me.,—New England and Middle States.

To Hon. Henry B. Fay, of Minneapolis, Minn.,—Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming and Idaho.

To Hon. Paul H. Dixon, of Chillicothe, Mo.,—Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah and Nevada.

To Hon. Clarence Nugent, of Stephenville, Tex.,—Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana.

I trust that these gentlemen will use all diligence in co-operating with the state, congressional and county committeemen in their respective territory, in the work of organization as provided for in the plan suggested at Cincinnati, and from time to time make such suggestions to this office as they may deem advisable.

The Populist party can be made stronger and more effective than ever if all straight Populists will bend their efforts to that end.

Respectfully,

MILTON PARK, *National Chairman*

#### On to Washington Under Personal Escort.

The fourth of the present series of Pennsylvania Railroad three-day personally-conducted tours to Washington, D. C., will leave Tuesday, March 28th. The rate, \$14.50 from New York, \$11.50 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other points, include all necessary expenses during the entire trip—transportation, hotel accommodations, and Capitol guide fees. An experienced chaperon will also accompany the party.

For itineraries, tickets and full information apply to ticket agents: Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 789 Broad street, Newark, N. J., or address George W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

#### THE PHILIPPINES, THEIR INHABITANTS AND WOULD-BE CONQUERORS.

IT MUST be confessed that the American people have a very hazy notion of what is going on in the Philippines. Of the progress made by our armies toward the conquest of those islands and the subjugation of the people thereof to our rule our people have no accurate conception. Indeed the general conception is most inaccurate. With reports of signal victories gained by our troops we are regaled until the generality of our people following the metropolitan and imperialistic newspapers, and making no study of the situation for themselves, are quite firm in the belief that the administering of such a series of crushing defeats cannot but presage the early stamping out of the rebellion—as it pleases them to style the refusal of the Filipinos to recognize our right to rule over them and their resistance to our troops sent to assert that right.

Now if we have any right to rule over them and they resist the assertion of that right they are, in the common acceptance of the term, rebels—a term to which we cannot admit, however, that any odium attaches for our forefathers were rebels against British rule and we have always gloried that they were. But what right have we to rule over the Philippines? Our rule has never been accepted, never been recognized by the Filipinos tacitly or otherwise. On the contrary ever since we have put forth claim to such right they have strenuously denied it. The right to rule over the Philippines we claim as derived from Spain. Spain deeded us the right. But suppose Spain deeded us something that was not hers to give? Clearly in that case our title to the right to rule over the Philippines is not a good title and in that case resistance to our rule on the part of the Filipinos does not constitute them rebels. And we hold that this is the case, that we are pursuing our campaign of subjugation not by any right of sovereignty, but as mere conquerors.

But after all such theorizing is, at this time, little more than idle. We are making war on the Filipinos and it is of no great concern as effecting the present situation in the islands whether we make war on them as rebels or not, for in any event we are bent on snuffing out the Philippines as an independent sovereignty and subjugating all the islands to our rule. It would be no comfort to the Filipinos to know we recognized them as a sovereign people if they knew that we proposed to make war upon them and would not listen to any overtures for peace until such sovereignty was handed over in its entirety to us. And to thus make war is our declared purpose. Rebels or a sovereign people, it makes no difference what they are by right, their lot is the same. So as not materially affecting the situation in the Philippines we may pass this question by.

And as to this situation. We have said our people have a very hazy idea of it. The blue pencil of the official censor at Manila keeps back all information of a nature likely to dampen imperialistic enthusiasm; only such news passes that censor as it chooses those, who are responsible for our departure on an imperialistic policy, to make public. Of course, such information as contained in parts of dispatches stricken out by the blue pencil of the censor may come dragging on behind, being sent by mail or special messenger to Hong Kong and thence cabled, and so after a while reach the public ear. But such censored news being always delayed is of necessity looked on more or less as stale news when received and so is not given the prominence nor does it attract the attention of the censored dispatches that come directly and promptly. Of course, the general predilection of the metropolitan press towards the imperialistic policy furthers this smothering of uncensored and delayed dispatches, it serving the general policy of the papers to discredit by their head lines, if not crowd out such dispatches, for to the discredit of our newspapers it must be said that they allow their prejudices to color the news they serve up to the public and use their news columns,



even as their editorial pages and often much more effectively, to influence public opinion.

Thus it is that our people are subject to be much misled as to the situation in the Philippines. Moreover their fund of information as to those islands and the people thereof is so limited that they are prone to accept with easy credence the most grotesque reasoning. Indeed the knowledge that can be obtained of the islands is most limited. To the western world those islands and their people are comparatively unknown, we perforce must content ourselves with superficial glances and so build conclusions on faulty premises. A dependable survey of the islands has never been made, their resources are unknown, the numbers of their people can be but roughly guessed at, the place of such people in the scale of civilization, or rather the places of such peoples, for there are many tribes and of widely variant degrees of advancement, remains to be deciphered with any degree of accuracy. So at best is our information of those islands superficial, at best we can acquire but a veneer of knowledge, yet with but a superficial knowledge of what lies before us, indeed with no general grasp of even the limited knowledge of those islands and people that can be gained we are plunging along the program mapped out only a few short inches in front of the plunging by our opportunist President, who, to the best of our belief, knows not at what he is aiming, but is leading the country to a leap in the dark and one of the most fateful leaps it ever took. Nor are we doing the President any injustice in saying this, for he admitted as much in his Boston speech of some weeks since and won applause for the admission.

We have said that it is generally assumed that the series of successes won by our troops around Manila presages the early collapse of all resistance to our troops and the peaceful submission of the islands to our rule. Three weeks, it is said, will see the end of all armed resistance. Indeed General Otis is reported as predicting as much, and to oppose our bare, unsupported opinion to one formed on the spot, and by one who is in position to know what we know not, to learn what we cannot learn would be the height of folly. But we may with profit direct attention to the position of our troops as shown by the official reports and clear away some of the grotesque statements into which many of those in the editorial sanctums of our daily newspapers, and who undertake to elucidate the situation in the Philippines for the enlightenment of the general public, have fallen through utter failure to acquaint themselves with even the scant knowledge of the Philippines and their people that is to be had.

In the first place be it said that our operations have so far been confined to a very limited area, the rather confined plain to the northeast and south of Manila. Now it may be, and as General Otis hopes, that on driving the Filipinos from this plain all resistance will cease, but it will not be because their power of resistance will of necessity be broken as many are disposed to assume. The plain of Manila is indeed most fertile, and has been the abode of a dense population. But to the northward of Manila lie two plains of much greater extent and supporting a larger, though not so dense, a population, and plains neither of which have so far been penetrated by our troops. No effort has been made to thus extend our sphere of operations, and it is idle to contend that from those plains cannot be drawn the resources such as would enable the Filipinos, if so determined, to make further resistance to our arms.

One of these plains, that of Pampanga, is much like that of Manila, only much larger in extent. Running northwest from Manila bay for ninety miles to the Gulf of Lingayen on the China Sea, this plain is watered by numerous rivers navigable by light boats in the rainy season, and by which great quantities of produce have been carried to Manila in the past. Moreover, these waterways are practically the only highways into the country, and as they cannot be used with any satisfaction in the dry season, and as an army cannot operate in the wet season, when this plain is

virtually flooded, shallow lakes of very considerable extent temporarily forming on its surface, one of an extent as great as fourteen miles by seven, the military conquest of this plain could not fail, in the face of an active enemy, to be most difficult. This plain which has an average width of thirty miles and extends from Manila bay northwards to the Gulf of Lingayen is broken by no watershed, the lake of Canaren, on the highest part of the plain, feeding two rivers one of which flows southwards to Manila bay the other northward to the aforementioned gulf. The other great plain of Luzon lying farther to the northward and between two mountain ranges, one on the east and the other on the western coast of the island, is of still greater extent, of rougher character and even more difficult of access to a military expedition.

So it cannot be said that the capture of the plain of Manila will starve the Filipinos into submission. But it is said that our recent successes which have resulted in cutting the Filipino army in two will lead to its annihilation. Lying to the south-eastward of Manila is the Laguna de Bay or Bay lake, a body of water thirty-three miles in extreme length and nearly as broad that nearly cuts the island of Luzon in half, this lake coming at Pasig within eight miles of Manila bay and its waters extending to within ten miles of the Pacific ocean. Now into this lake our river gunboats, aided by our troops, have forced their way. This leads a brilliant scribe of the New York *Tribune* to declare that now General Otis can deal at his pleasure with the divided wings of Aguinaldo's army separately; that a gunboat stationed in the lake and a warship in the Pacific can command with their guns this narrow strip of land just as if such strip of land was flat as a billiard table and so open that no movements of the enemy could be hidden.

The truth appears to be that this neck of land is deeply upheaved and furrowed with rough mountain ranges rising to the height of several thousand feet. Still there is no gainsaying the fact that the cutting of Aguinaldo's army in half by the opening up of the Pasig river has dealt it a serious blow. Of course, by making a detour of the lake the Filipino army to the east of the Pasig river may be united with the army to the west and defending Malolos, the Filipino capital. But the control by the Americans of Bay lake, the shores of which are most fertile and from which Aguinaldo's army drew much of its food, cuts off an important source of supply.

Between this lake and Manila the country is generally flat and intersected by sluggish but deep streams. Indeed the lake which is comparatively shallow, eighty to one hundred feet, has a mean level of only 58 feet above sea level. Therefore there is a fall in the Pasig river through which the waters are emptied into Manila bay of but little more than seven feet to the mile. The whole length of this river is now in control of the Americans and also the lake which feeds it, and so communication between the Filipinos in the east and west is cut off save by a detour of the lake, a detour that we doubt not must be most difficult and tedious to make, for the waters of the lake having been depended upon for highway we do not believe that anything approaching a continuous and beaten track around the lake exists. It may be here well to say that the lake is not one broad expanse of water but is broken by two promontories and several islands that jut far into the lake from the eastern shore and that it thus offers some temptation for the Filipinos to use boats upon its waters despite our control, depending upon their ability to elude our gunboats, escape from them by a game of hide and seek. And also it may be said that the Filipinos have several gunboats which they captured from the Spanish and which have sought refuge in some of the small rivers flowing into the lake. But that such gunboats will be used to contest the control of the lake with us we do not believe, nor do we believe that the Filipinos will meet with any encouraging success if they undertake to sail boats over the lake under the eyes of our gunboats. In brief the control of Manila

plain by the Filipinos has been most seriously imperilled. But this does not affect their position in the two and vastly greater plains in the north of Luzon save in so far as that position may be affected by the discouragement consequent on the reverses around Manila and in those plains they may long continue resistance. To assume however that the whole of the plain of Manila is already as good as wrested from the Filipinos would be a grave error. Of that plain we now hold but a minor part. What we have done is to cut it in half. Our troops have made many advances beyond the posts they now hold but which were rather in the nature of forays and though very destructive of property, the torch being freely applied to Filipino villages, and though it is assumed with the result of inflicting heavy losses upon the Filipinos, it is questionable whether such advances have not encouraged rather than disheartened the Filipinos, for the return of such forays to their base may well have been taken by the Filipinos as retreats, as evidence of inability to hold the advanced positions. And can we say that they are wrong? It looks very much as if General Otis must await more reinforcements before he can extend his lines much further save where he can use the water courses and lake for a base of supplies. Around this lake we are carrying war with fire and sword. "The expedition," as one of many and as we take as an instance, says a censored press dispatch, "then proceeded to Majayjay, where a sugar mill and saw mill were destroyed." We wonder what military necessity justified such destruction.

So far we have confined our glance to the island of Luzon, an island some 420 miles long and 130 miles in extreme breadth, about one-half larger than Ireland, constituting perhaps two-fifths of the area of the entire Philippine group and very mountainous in character, the peaks rising to a height of from six to seven thousand feet. It may be said that all the islands of the archipelago extending over an extreme length from south to north of 1100 miles, are of volcanic and mountainous formation being heaved up as it were, from the bottom of the sea. That much of this upheaval is of comparatively recent geological period is evidenced by the calcareous formations, the monuments of the coral polyps which were of course built at sea-level or rather slightly under. But there is also ample evidence that the islands of this volcanic area have been subject to subsidence as well as upheaval for the mammalian fauna of the islands, though limited, is much the same. It may also be remarked that the channels separating the islands are rarely of greater depth than two hundred fathoms, often much less.

It has been asserted with much confidence that no where else in the archipelago than the island of Luzon will we meet with serious resistance to the assertion of our purchased sovereignty, and it is pointed out that even in Luzon resistance has been confined to the Tagals. It is true that a tribe of Ygorrotes, men living in southern Luzon, did offer support to Aguinaldo, did in their helpless bravery stand before our artillery armed with bows and arrows, but such tribesmen are as few in numbers as they are impotent in weapons and are hardly to be counted as capable of making any resistance. So it is that the Tagals have practically stood alone in resisting our troops around Manila. But this is no proof that we will not meet with resistance from the other tribes and nations of the Philippines. It is merely proof that the Tagals, being situated in central Luzon and around Manila to the number of between two and three millions, were the men of all Filipinos who first were brought in conflict with our troops, over whom it was first attempted to assert our purchased right to rule. It is true that there are other races on the island of Luzon, indeed there are as many as twenty distinct tribes speaking different languages. But only two of these tribes are of importance and they are situated far from the field of battle, the Ilocanos far to the north, the Vicolos or Bicolos in the extreme south. And now it is blandly said the Vicolos have never risen. So far they have had nothing to rise against, American troops

having not been within a hundred and fifty miles of them. Again do we read the Viscaya islands, the group of small islands, no one of greater area than 5,000 square miles, lying between Luzon on the north and Mindanao on the south, have all been pacified. But one of these islands, Panay, and by far the most populous of the group, supporting 860,000 souls or nearly one-half the inhabitants of this group, is in arms against our occupation. In repelling an attack on Iloilo the metropolis of this island only a few days ago two hundred of these people were slaughtered. This is not what we call pacified. And the only two other islands of the group that we have set foot on, and these only in a town in each, Negros and Cebu, are much smaller islands of only 150,000 and 300,000 inhabitants, all Viscayans with the exception of a few Negritos, a dwarfish race of wild men, the aborigines of the Philippines and who are to be found in small numbers in the mountains of all the larger islands. The total number of these Viscayans is about two millions. These people with the Tagals are the most advanced of the islands and together form more than one-half of the total population. They seem to be united in arms and generally opposed to our occupation, being desirous of building a Philippine republic.

Again we are told that the Moros or Moslem population of Mindanao, the most southerly of the Philippine islands and the largest next to Luzon, have made no sign of an objection to American replacing the Spanish sovereignty. The truth is Spain never was able to assert her sovereignty over these people who have long been celebrated as pirates, and if we interfere with their trade we expect they will object to the exercise of American sovereignty even as they did to Spanish. The northern side of this island is inhabited with Viscayans.

Such then are the people of the Philippines, all, with the exception of the few Negritos, of Malay stock and divided into many distinct nations or tribes speaking different languages, and of widely different degrees of advancement, but among which stand out pre-eminently, both because of numbers and general advancement, the Tagals with whom we are in conflict in Luzon, the Viscayans with whom we are in conflict in Panay, at peace with in Negros and Cebu.

It may be said that in such a population, a population of diverse tribes, the elements of self-government are lacking, that to keep the peace between them, to prevent constant warfare, in the name of humanity we must rule them. But if these different peoples of the same race and general characteristics cannot dwell in peace and harmony under the same government let them dwell apart, live as separate and distinct nations. Even so do the Scandinavian peoples, though born of like race and with like characteristics and possessed of the most equitable of temperaments and far advanced in the scale of civilization, show a preference to live apart. Norwegians seem now bent on separation from Sweden, Danes live in separation, Fins are separated. Should Europe therefore make this a basis of denying to all these peoples the right of self-government, deny them such right as men unfit to exercise it, as men to whom the right of self-government cannot be trusted? Russia seems to be acting on something like this maxim in regard to the Fins, but suppose she stepped into Norway and Sweden, what would Europe think? And shall we deny to an inferior people a right we accord to a higher and a right by the exercise of which such inferior people may lift themselves up? We should say no. It is said, indeed, the Filipinos cannot exercise this right. But we should like to know the tribe of men where there is not self government of some kind unless indeed that tribe be held in subjection, and ruled over by some more powerful people. No one can name such a tribe. And what right has any people to deprive such tribe of the exercise of such right, a right by the exercise of which the self-reliant, most progressive, most civilized peoples of to-day have built themselves up? None, save it be that such inferior people are placed in such position or place themselves in



such position that they hinder the growth, hinder the right to development of some other people. Then that other people must remove that obstacle if it can, it is its duty to remove it and remove it even at the cost of the extermination of the people that block their path to a greater development, a higher life. Thus we treated the Indians, but what excuse can we offer for treating the Filipinos in the same way? They do not block our path, we do not want to settle on their lands. We want to work their lands with their labor and for our profit. And this is slavery, and slavery is not uplifting, it is enervating for master and for slave, it brings down upon the nation that practices it the curse of God, a curse under which great empires have withered and decayed, decayed because untrue to God's precepts and unworthy of their greatness.

#### WHAT IT COST TO FREE CUBA.

THE Administration has many apologists, yet none seek to show that the statements of the cost of the war making the rounds are grossly exaggerated. On the contrary they spread these erroneous statements, make out that the costs of the war were much greater than they really were. It would seem that such statements are launched as a cover to extravagances in other directions, as an explanation of the necessity of keeping the burdensome war taxes on our statute books well calculated to find acceptance with a patriotic people and silence murmurings of discontent. Therefore, it is time to pull off the mask, show what it has cost us as a nation and in actual outlay of money to free Cuba, time to lay bare the truth. We here have reference only to the costs as shown by the payments out of the Treasury to meet the costs of waging the war with Spain and the expenditures incurred since the signing of the peace protocol and incidental to that war. The indirect costs of wasted labor consequent on the taking of men away from productive employments we leave out of account at this time.

The statements that are now being generally published are to the effect that the costs to the United States of freeing Cuba have been some \$480,000,000. How much of this has been spent to enslave the Philippines is not stated. But we will not at this time attempt to draw any distinction between moneys spent in making war in the Philippines against Spain and war made against Filipinos, war made not to destroy Spanish power and entered in to free Cuba, but war made to conquer the Philippines not from Spain but from the people thereof. Indeed to make this distinction with any approach to accuracy would be impossible and as strengthening the case of those who are trying to make it appear that to free Cuba we have, as a nation, incurred expenditures of \$480,000,000 we take no exception to the charging of all the expenditures so far incurred in the Philippines up to the cost of freeing Cuba. But granting all this, putting the contention of the apologists for high taxes in the most favorable light, an analysis of Treasury statements will show that so far we have not spent half the above mentioned sum. As a matter of fact such statements of cost are based on the appropriations made by the Fifty-fifth Congress and include appropriations to cover estimated expenditures for the next fiscal year, as well as the war expenditures already incurred and appropriated for. But much of the war expenditures for the next fiscal year will obviously be expenditures to subdue, to subjugate the Philippines and that cannot be charged to the costs of freeing Cuba. If it was not for such Philippine war, which we ought to avoid, we could cut off probably two-thirds of the increased war expenditures for the next fiscal year, and much of the balance of the increased expenditures contemplated is for the garrisoning of our own coast defenses. Indeed the costs of the war legitimately growing out of the freeing of Cuba and chargeable thereto, should practically cease by the beginning of the next fiscal year, for the costs of the

internal improvements in Cuba and of ordinary government are met out of the revenues of the island. Only the cost of garrisoning Cuba with our troops is charged to the National government and these garrisons could properly and safely be much reduced before the rainy season, reduced, the President's special commissioner to the island, Mr. Porter, has stated, to 12,000 or even fewer men without incurring any risk. And the keeping of such garrison would cost but ten or twelve millions a year. That our expenses on this score will be so reduced is perhaps too much to hope for, it is too much to hope that our troops in Cuba will be so reduced, and it is too much to be feared that some of our imperialists will succeed in stirring up strife in that island and so saddle great expenditures on this country, not in furtherance of the redemption of our pledge to free Cuba, but because of the breaking of that pledge and with the end of forcing our rule upon the people of that island.

So to charge up the increased war appropriations made for the next fiscal year to the account of freeing Cuba is not justifiable. The expenses that can rightly be so charged have virtually ceased and to charge to free Cuba the costs of our imperialistic flights is inexcusable. But all this aside the effort is now making to show that the cost to the United States of freeing Cuba is some four hundred and eighty odd millions of dollars, and that if we free Cuba this will be virtually a gift of the American people to the Cubans. And this is put forward as an argument for our taking Puerto Rico and the Philippines. We have given our pledge not to reimburse ourselves at the expense of the Cubans by annexing their island, so we must reimburse ourselves at the expense of Puerto Ricans and Filipinos on whose account we did not make the war which involved us in such great expenditures. This is the imperialistic justification for taking the Philippines and Puerto Rico and exercising a sovereignty over the peoples thereof to the end that we may reimburse ourselves for the cost of freeing Cuba. But justification to the imperialist as it may seem it is no moral justification, and by the code of morality which we as a people have asserted up to within a few months, that the President asserted when he declared a war of conquest is, by our code of morality, criminal aggression, it is wrong.

But of the cost of the war. It has not been \$480,000,000 or anything like it, and as we have said the costs properly incidental to the freeing of Cuba, are about over. It was in March a year ago that we first began to spend money on any great scale in preparation for the impending war with Spain. At the opening of business on the first day of that month the cash balance in the Treasury stood at \$225,564,200. A twelve-month later the balance stood at \$269,103,513. In other words in spite of the war expenditures the cash balance increased by \$44,000,000. And in what way is this accounted for? In the interim \$200,000,000 was brought into the Treasury by the war bond issue, and \$75,000,000 more by the war taxes which did not go into effect until the last of June and first of July. In other words the receipts of the Treasury were increased by \$275,000,000. Now assuming that aside from the receipts on account of the bond sale, the war taxes and war expenditures, the receipts of the government would have equaled expenditures it follows, inasmuch as the cash balance of the government increased during this period by \$44,000,000, and inasmuch as the extra receipts of the government were \$275,000,000, that the actual war expenditures were only \$231,000,000 for the year. Indeed, it may be safely said that this sum somewhat exceeds the real figure for it is probable that the ordinary revenues, though swollen by some \$6,000,000 received from Pacific Railroad sales in March a year ago, as receipts have been similarly swollen by some \$11,000,000 in the present month, fell somewhat short of meeting the ordinary expenditures and that therefore there was a probable deficit in no way due to the war, and that had to be paid out of war revenues, of perhaps several millions.

In other words it has cost us to free Cuba not \$480,000,000 but something under \$231,000,000, our total war expenditures at the outside for the year March 1, 1898, to March 1, 1899, and of this expenditure some millions were on account of, in preparation for, not our war to free Cuba, but our new war in the Philippines to enslave a people. That this is so is very apparent from the fact that our expenditures, which, aside from those of the postal service, fell to \$41,864,000 for December last, rose to \$51,122,000 for January and to \$43,918,000 for the short month of February. Now, because of large interest payments coming due in January, expenditures for that month customarily show a large increase over those for December, but February payments should be smaller than those for December, whereas we see there has been an increase. Moreover, the March expenditures give every evidence that with the Philippine war our average monthly expenditures will rise to \$50,000,000, or \$600,000,000 a year, aside from expenditures on account of the postal service, estimated at \$106,000,000 more. Thus does it appear that our pursuit of imperialism is to cost us about \$200,000,000 annually, for our total expenditures before the war were considerably less than \$500,000,000 a year.

Some appear to harbor the thought that we can tax the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans and Hawaiians to reimburse ourselves for such expenditure but it is an idle dream. All those peoples together do not produce \$200,000,000 worth of wealth a year and at most we can tax them but a tithe of what they produce. Of course, it is expected that under our guidance the productiveness of their labor will be greatly increased. But is it purposed to turn the product of this increased productiveness into the national coffers? Not at all. It is the favored few counting on the grant of concessions and privileges and franchises in those islands who expect to gather the profit of that increased productiveness. The product of the increased productiveness of the labor of Filipinos, etc., is to be taken from them, but for the profit of the individual not the government, the favored few not American people.

This is the aim of modernized imperialism, to enrich not the nominal government of the despoiling nation—the people, but the moneyed oligarchy that is the enthroned power moving behind the scenes. Indeed it means more, it means the impoverishment, the despoilment of the people of the despoiling nation, all for the enrichment of the favored few ruling by the power that money gives. To sum up imperialism will be prone to cost us as much yearly as the Spanish war. The legitimate cost to us of freeing Cuba is less than \$230,000,000. What it will cost to enslave the Philippines and perhaps also Cuba is quite another question. The cost of freeing Cuba has been met, it is imperialism and imperialism alone that makes the continuance of our present war taxes a necessity and the imposition of more taxes a probability. If it was not for our Philippine war the most noxious of our war taxes could be taken off and replaced by none.

#### STRICTURES OF A RAILROAD PRESIDENT.

A LETTER written in early February by President James J. Hill of the Great Northern Railway and antagonizing the pooling bill has recently been brought to light. Coming from the president of one of the great roads of the country, the letter is remarkable for its strictures upon his railroad brethren. It sounds like a voice in the wilderness. And yet as we read it we cannot but feel that the letter is written not so much as an argument against pooling, against railroad monopoly, as a pleading against the pursuit of a policy by his brother railroad managers that he feels can but end in government ownership, result in the destruction of railroad monopoly as also all industrial monopolies built on the abuses of railroad monopoly.

In these words does Mr. Hill put his argument against pools, an argument to appeal to the multitude:

"A pool is an interference with the free, unrestrained and natural conditions of trade. It is made to allow a division of traffic, so as to avoid a reduction of rates. I do not understand how the public can suffer by a reduction in rates of transportation; neither can I see how the legal authorization of pools will prevent discriminations in favor of shippers or of localities."

But following comes an argument appealing to railroad managers and the profitters from the present railroad monopoly—an argument that makes the letter appear double edged, one edge to fool the public, one to be used to cut away the attacks on railroad monopoly. Don't push the monopoly too far, too openly, too boldly or you will lose all. Such is the argument by which he appeals to railroad managers, appeals to them to stop pushing for a bill to legitimize pooling, legalize railroad monopoly.

"The past year," he writes, "has been an unusual one in the history of this country. The number of trusts and combinations which have been made and are apparently accepted or tolerated is much greater than in any former year. The amount of authorized capital in such institutions is simply stupendous, and I think that a close investigation would show that a large portion of this capital is entirely fictitious."

And then we come to the essence of the appeal:

"The people, regardless of party, are becoming highly incensed over these matters, and in place of extending pools through acts of Congress legalizing such conditions I am sure that the general sentiment of the public, high and low, is decidedly against such policy." \* \* \*

"This country has had enough anti-railroad and anti-monopoly discussions, some of which were without reason, and most of which had some reason. Now, when the railroads of the country are rendering better service than ever before at lower rates, and the people are beginning to accept the fairness of these rates, it seems to me unwise and unjust to reopen the railway question through legislation that will be looked upon by the public as hostile to their interests, and in that way inflame public feeling."

Here then is the essence of the appeal to railroad men working for a pooling bill, working to form railroad pools:

Don't. For to make one great pool, one great trust will be but to pave the way to government ownership.

Keep alive the fiction, for it is a fiction, that there is railroad competition that keeps rates down to reasonable figures. This fiction exploded, and the forming of a great railroad pool would explode it, and good-bye private ownership. For men will say: if there must be a monopoly let the government be the monopolist—working not for the enrichment of the few but for the promotion of the interests of all the people, all save the interests of robbers and despoilers of mankind.

But why then alarm of railroad cliques at the prospect of government ownership? Such ownership would not mean despoilment—it would mean the squeezing out of fictitious capital, would mean the enforcement of the demand that those who now use the railroads to despoil their fellow men should cease. And those who profit from such despoilment, pride themselves in thus despoiling, do not want to cease. Therefore, they oppose government ownership. But it is the interest of the public that they be made to cease, that robbery big as little should be stopped, and the man who holds fictitious capital issued to despoil the people will have no right to complain because of the recovery by the public of such stolen property. True, he may be an innocent holder but the law makes no distinction, the man who makes purchases of property without inquiring as to whether it is stolen or not or closing his eyes to evidences of fraud invites loss, we might add, deserves loss.

#### "A Thrilling Night's Ride"

is the title of a very interesting illustrated story, which will be mailed free upon receipt of two cents postage, by H. W. Beyers, 601 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Adv.*



## BOOK REVIEWS.

## The West Indies.

*The West Indies.* By AMOS KIDDER FISKE. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

A short time since when noticing in these columns a book on Puerto Rico, we remarked upon the much felt need of a comprehensive and thoroughly reliable work upon the several island groups which events of the past year have brought so forcibly before the American public; a work that would satisfy the awakened curiosity of the mere seeker after general information, and also meet the requirements of those who wish to obtain a sound practical understanding of the islands, their inhabitants and above all their resources. So far as the West Indies are concerned the book before us comes nearer to filling this need than anything we have seen or know of. For the purposes of the general reader it is all sufficient; for the student and the business man it affords an excellent base from which each one can strike out to suit his individual preference or necessity.

We cannot better state the aims and scope of the book than in the author's own words: "His purpose has been to compress within the compass of one moderate volume, and yet to present with adequate form and color and in a popular style, the information about the West Indies—their history and physical aspects, their natural resources and material condition, their political relations and apparent destiny." This ground the author has covered admirably, the arrangement of the book being orderly and convenient. Still we found it rather dry reading, despite the vein of humor which crops out frequently from page to page. It is but fair to say, however, that where such a mass of dry facts and figures as are here given must be crowded together into short space it is difficult to get away from an encyclopedic style. Again, it seems a pity that larger and better maps had not been furnished. The three given are in outline merely and of no use save in the most general way. As a partial offset to this we are glad to note the excellent half tone illustrations, of which there are some thirty odd. These, which are in thorough keeping with the general get up of the book, make a feature that is both instructive and attractive. One thing we could not but remark in turning the pages of this book is that the author possesses a scientific knowledge that is more than rudimentary. This is evidenced by the intelligent and intelligible way in which he speaks of geological formation, fauna and flora.

There are two points that stand out predominantly when this volume is laid down. Presenting themselves clear cut by the time we have finished reading of Cuba, each succeeding chapter throws them into sharper relief. From each of the hundreds of islands they are repeated. Out of the past comes one, echoing from island to island—a sad page of history recording the complete and generally prompt extermination of the native inhabitants by their European conquerors. The other is the undeveloped state of all the West Indian islands, and the very meagre knowledge that exists regarding their resources. Indeed, notwithstanding that many of these islands were discovered and colonized before the mainland, they might almost be said to be still unknown, at least in one sense. Of the social conditions and problems involved this is not the place to speak. However, the picture Mr. Fiske draws of social and economic conditions in the black republic of Haiti is not over encouraging to those who regard with hopefulness the future of the Negro race. We read with surprise that cannibalism as a religious rite still exists in out of the way spots despite efforts to suppress it.

Apropos of the recent sentimental excitement in Spain over the remains of Columbus, we come across an item of particular interest. Writing of Santo Domingo and the old cathedral there—the second resting place of the bones of the great navigator—the author goes on to say that "when the colony was ceded to France in 1795, Spain was permitted to remove these precious relics to Havana, which she was supposed to have done with great solemnity and much ceremony; but it is now pretty well demonstrated that the wrong casket was removed and that the bones of Christopher Columbus still repose in the city of his brother and his son." The historical accounts are well written and while brief are sufficiently full for the purposes of the book. We feel it is but right, however, to challenge a statement occurring on page 100, which is not borne out by fact and does injustice to an officer who, whatever his limitations and his inferiority to his great adversary, never showed himself a coward. So when we read that Villeneuve "getting scared" by the close proximity of Nelson "put back" for Europe, we are impelled to remind

the author that the sole purpose of the expedition to the West Indies was to get the Atlantic between Nelson and the British Channel and so make possible the invasion of England by the French army then assembled at Boulogne. Napoleon's imperative orders to Villeneuve were to effect his rendezvous in the West Indies and get back to France as quickly as possible to cover this proposed movement.

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## North American Butterflies.

*The Butterfly Book.* By W. J. HOLLAND. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$3 net.

It will indeed be surprising if this truly sumptuous volume does not create a new and largely extended interest in the study of butterflies. In high degree it possesses all those qualities which stamp the scientifically reliable and valuable work, and at the same time its character and method are such as to make it a popular book, one that will attract the casual reader, interest him in the subject and very likely inspire him to study and investigation on his own account. There is no one more thoroughly equipped or better qualified to prepare a standard manual on North American Lepidoptera than Dr. Holland who, with the possible exception of Dr. Samuel H. Scudder, enjoys the deserved reputation of being the most eminent authority on the subject in America. He has prepared the present book especially to meet the much felt want of a complete and thoroughly trustworthy text book which should answer the student's every purpose and yet cost but a small price.

Dr. Holland begins with a short though careful general introduction describing the life history and anatomy of the butterfly. Following this come practical directions for the capture, preparation and preservation of specimens, and then what may be considered as a treatise on scientific classification, specially applied to insects and butterflies. With this the careful reader will have a solid foundation from which to proceed to the book proper in which about 650 different species, or nearly all so far found in North America, are described. The system here followed is what would be expected from one of Dr. Holland's training and experience. He does not attempt to take his students any short cut to knowledge, believing, and we are convinced properly so, that the surest way to master any subject is to begin at the bottom and work up gradually and systematically. Thus, when he comes to classify and describe the butterflies, he follows a natural order. After defining a family (in all there are five) and stating the characteristics common to its members and by which they may be distinguished, he next takes up the genus in the same way, and then describes severally the species belonging to it. Accompanying the statement of generic characters of each genus is a diagrammatic outline illustration of the neurulation or nerving of the wings, which must prove of the utmost assistance to the student as this is the important point in classification. Every species and variety of butterfly described in the text is figured in the colored plates. It is noticeable that only occasionally are any measurements given for the caterpillar and chrysalis.

A unique feature of this book and one which as much as any other single thing makes it attractive to the general reader is the introduction here and there through the descriptive text of instructive and exceedingly interesting short articles, which are in thorough accord with the aims of the book and quite often relate personal experiences of the author. We are much taken with this method of bringing in odds and ends of information in the shape of independent articles, and think this feature of the present book will find general appreciation and approval. For many reasons the study of butterflies is a particularly attractive one, and that it also offers free scope and a rare field for original research and observation, is made quite apparent by the constant recurrence in this book of the word "unknown" at the place where a description of the early stages (egg, caterpillar, chrysalis) of the life history of the species should come in. Those who are accustomed to look upon butterflies as frail, ephemeral creatures will be surprised to read that some species regularly migrate.

The author remarks in his preface that the development of "the process of reproducing in colors photographic representations of objects has been to a certain degree the argument for the publication of this book," and assuredly the beautiful colored plates it contains, fully warrant his modest statement that the butterflies may be identified by means of the illustrations. A few weeks since in reviewing in these columns "Birds that Hunt and are Hunted," we had occasion to speak somewhat particularly of this new process of color photography and the character of subject that gave the best results. Butterflies make precisely

this kind of subject, and as shown in any of the forty-eight plates in this volume the effect is remarkably fine. One thing that gives the figures particular value to the student is the fact that they have been generally taken from the very specimens which were originally described as the specific types. In preparing the present work Dr. Holland had in view a subsequent and similar book upon the moths of North America. Inasmuch as "The Butterfly Book" has already reached its second edition we hope he will feel encouraged to carry out his original idea.

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#### The Legal Tender Cases.

*Leading Cases*—American and English on the Law of Legal Tender and Money—Also Latest Decisions on the Taxing of Incomes, the Anti Trust Act, etc. Cases reported in full, with Notes by J. J. Crandall of the New Jersey bar. Published by the Author: Camden N. J. \$1.50.

This book must command attention. The acts of 1862 and 1863, creating the legal tenders, were a *novum organum*. It was a new exercise of sovereign power in the family of nations. The monetization of national certificates for property and services appropriated by the government, the collectivity, had never been accomplished before these memorable acts of Congress. The creation of money without the barter element of metal and covenants to redeem were such triumphs in the science of domestic exchange and economic commerce that they must be read with the lessons of Bunker Hill and Saratoga as vindications of popular government. Independence gave us separate existence and the legal tender decisions gave us theories of and for perpetuating government by the people for the general welfare. It seemed essential to the preservation of the Israelitish theocracy, that they be called annually to Jerusalem to have their statutes read and expounded. Cicero said that it was indispensable to the preservation of liberty that the twelve tables should be read continually to the youth as a *carmina necessaria*—that they should be chanted by the children and become family lore.

When the moneyed feudatory challenged in the courts the authority of the government to create money it was reassuring to all lovers of liberty to find that the judiciary generally measured up to the occasion by vindicating the greenback as the keystone of the arch of popular government. The stubborn contest made by the private corporate proprietors of the money of commerce against this heretofore unused prerogative of our government to create money provoked very extensive researches on the part of the courts and their opinions disclose such a wide range in the fields of political economy, philosophy, history and constitutional law as to practically exhaust the subject.

The greenback to the inert judicial mind was so phenomenal in its first appearance that it babalized the tongues of the judges. Judges had to be literally re-educated on the whole subject of money.

Justice Cooley in 1865 (page 239 of the Compilation) flushed the whole fraternity of speculators by enunciating:

"What shall constitute a dollar in money is fixed by the national law, which, as respects this subject, is supreme. The legal tender acts not only made legal tender notes money, but it made them a lawful tender for all private as well as public debts. In so doing it made these notes the legal equivalent for gold and silver coin to the same nominal amount."

The state judiciary generally adopted this view. But as the federal court must be the final arbiter as to the fate of the "greenback," the metallic money men began an agitation to educate the judges of the U. S. Supreme Court to their views. The Hon. Salmon P. Chase was then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The friends of the legal tender supposed they had a friend in this illustrious jurist, who on numerous occasions while Secretary of the Treasury had exultingly exclaimed "that the nation had coined its credit into money." He had paraded the greenback before the world as progressive evolution in the science of money. He afterwards became dissatisfied with the policy of his party in Congress. It was whispered at the time that the presidential bee had overcome his powers of resistance and he so flirted with the Democratic party that his name was mentioned in its convention of July, 1868.

The Supreme Court of Kentucky had decided that the legal tender acts when applied to contracts for the payment of money previous to the passage of those acts were unconstitutional. This case was promptly presented to the U. S. Supreme Court, and at a conference of the court on November 27, 1869, the decision of the Kentucky court was affirmed, and about a year afterwards Chief Justice Chase read the opinion of a majority of the court, and Justice Miller, with whom concurred Swayne and Davis, read a masterly dissent.

The excuse of the opinion of him who, as Secretary of the Treasury had declared that Congress had "coined the nation's credit into money," is contained in the following extract:

"Contracts for the payment of money made before the act of 1862 had reference to coined money and could not be discharged unless by consent, otherwise than by tender of the sum due in coin.

"Every such contract, therefore, was, in legal import, a contract for the payment in coin. There is a well known law of currency that notes or promises to pay, unless made conveniently and promptly convertible into coin at the will of the holder, can never, except under unusual and abnormal conditions be at par in circulation with coin. It is an equally well known law that depreciation of notes must increase with the increase of the quantity put in circulation and diminution of confidence in the ability or disposition to redeem. Their appreciation follows the reversal of these conditions.

"No act making them a legal tender can change materially the operation of these laws."

This was such a plain surrender of the sovereign power to create money to commodity speculators that it so shocked the judicial sense that a reargument was awarded by the court, and when this same question was again stirred in the celebrated Legal Tender cases (p. 78 of the Compilation) it was held that the previous decision was wrong, and that contracts made before the legal tender act was passed, as well as those made afterward, were solvable in greenbacks. But Chief-Justice Chase and Justices Nelson, Clifford and Field dissented. In the meantime the Government had treated these notes as money by receiving them for internal revenues and paying them out on the same basis as coin, and thus furnishing a medium of commerce independent of the banks. The Treasurer then began to be plied to induce him to refuse to pay out these notes after they had found their way into the Treasury. This trick called for Congressional interference, and an act was passed May 31, 1878, making it mandatory to the Treasury to pay out and reissue these notes and keep them in circulation with the original quality of legal tender. The power of the government was again challenged in its courts, and the whole question was again thrashed over (p. 117 of the Compilation) with the following result as stated by Justice Grey:

"Upon full consideration of the case the court is unanimously of the opinion that it cannot be distinguished in principle from the cases heretofore determined, reported under the names of the Legal Tender Cases, 12 Wall. 457; Dooley vs. Smith, 13 ib.; R. R. Co. vs. Johnson, 15 ib. 195, and Maryland vs. R. R. Co., 22 ib. 105, and all the judges except Mr. Justice Field, who adheres to the views expressed in his dissenting opinions in those cases, are of the opinion that they were rightly decided."

So it may now be considered that the money—the purely money faculty is the product of legislation. So metallic coin is money, with the addition of a costly commodity—a commodity that is as useless in business, as the thirty pound weight kept by the old farmer to assist him in taking half a bushel of wheat to the mill. He put the wheat in one end of the bag and the weight in the other to enable him to carry it across his shoulder. The office of money is to avoid barter, not to establish metal as a universal equivalent in trade, and thus force a universal system of barter in which one side of the deal shall be metal. Metal is a costly burden upon money. In the cancellation of debts between citizens of the sovereignty creating the money the money faculty of the coin only is used, but in compensation out of the realm the commodity part of the coin only is used. In other words, the courts now concur that it is not essential to work a system of money to have the money faculty added to a costly commodity. The law that Chief-Justice Chase enunciated above related to commodities—to pure barter. The presidential bee so threw the venerable justice out of focus that he was unable either to concentrate on or differentiate the money faculty and confused the situation so as to obscure his own infirmity.

Justice Hunt (p. 131 of the Compilation) is seen to be clairvoyant on the subject. He says of the greenbacks: "They are in no sense loans or the representatives of loans. They are currency, the medium by which purchases are made or debts are paid involving no idea of borrowing or lending. If A buys of B a house or a horse and pays him the price thereof in bank notes, is there any view in which A can thereby be made a borrower of B? The government simply occupies the position of payer or of a purchaser with reference to these notes. Legal tender notes are money—expressly declared to be lawful money and legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except duties on imports, and are to be re-issued from time to time as



the exigencies of the public may require. They are to all intents and purposes money in the hands of banks and individuals.

"They are neither loans to the government nor are they instrumentalities necessary for carrying on its affairs. After they are issued by the government they are the circulating medium of the country, used by individuals in and for the ordinary transactions of their affairs as private property, and with no reference to the wants and conveniences of the government. The government issues eagles, half eagles and dollars as well as legal tender notes, and for the same purposes."

But these principal questions are cognate to other questions which have been litigated, such as gold and specie contracts, the correlative questions growing out of taxing state banks issues, taxing United States corporations, such as railroads and national banks. These are all here in handy book form, as the income tax decision, with the dissents of Justices Harlan, Brown and Jackson. These dissents clearly foreshadow the events which are to come, as clearly as did the Chief Justice's decision against the legal tenders. No question can be considered settled in this country till it is settled correctly. The decision sustaining the anti-trust law against railroad pooling is reassuring. Courts are proverbially inert bodies and it requires immense momentum to move them forward. It is clear that the income tax must come.

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Strong Hearts.* By GEORGE W. CABLE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

Mr. Cable has already won an enviable reputation among our later day writers of fiction and this fame, together with the very attractive get up of the present book, will doubtless carry his last effort into many homes. Unfortunately the physical appearance of this book is to our mind by far the strongest point in its favor. We had picked out "Strong Hearts" that we might pass an evening of instructive and enjoyable reading; we were predisposed in its favor, had no intention of finding fault but, to confess, the time devoted to this book has proven heavy and we put it from us with a sigh of disappointment. This disappointment is greater and our regret keener for the very reason that Mr. Cable is amply qualified to do really clever work, work that can and would stand out boldly if he gave to it a little more time and care. It is almost unpardonable for a man capable of real and lasting work to give to the public an unfinished and, on the whole, useless production. While condemning this book we do not mean to say that it is in all ways unprofitable reading. In spots we can detect the touch of a master hand that lifts the whole work far above many of the stories of the day; our objection is that "Strong Hearts" is not a fair sample of the author's ability, that it is, in fact, a work showing much inexcusable neglect on his part. We fear he has attempted that which has and must always end in utter failure. Many more productions such as the present will take from him the respect and admiration that once lost can never be regained. To attempt to live on previous work and merit is a dangerous game to play, the more so if previous efforts have focussed on one the critical eye of the public. Of the three stories in this book "The Solitary" comes the nearest to real merit and the picture of the over modest and humble man is well drawn. As all three stories deal with people of rather weak and changing minds we fail to comprehend why our author should have dubbed his work "Strong Hearts." "Weak Hearts" would have come nearer the truth and have fitted the characters portrayed far better.

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*A Hungarian Nabob.* By MAURUS JÖKAI, translated by R. Nisbet Bain. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.25.

It makes an interesting study to delve into the literary lore of other countries and foreign peoples, and hence it is with much pleasure we note the growing popularity of the works of the Hungarian patriot author. It is only within the past few years that our people have made the acquaintance of Jökai, but now surely they will not rest satisfied until they know and honor him as a true friend. Unfortunately this talented writer has about run the course of years allotted to the life of man and soon he will have crossed the river from whence no man returns. For upwards of fifty years he has toiled away at his work, of drawing a faithful picture of Hungarian life and customs. We are not among those who claim for Jökai a position among the most famous and exalted of writers; we fail entirely to see where or how it would be possible to lay claim to such a reputation. On the other hand

he has, and deservedly, gained the applause of his fellows, and his popularity extends beyond the boundary of his mother country. Of popular writers he stands without a peer, but to apply the term of genius to his work is, to say the least, far fetched. The English and American reader will do well to remember, however, that it is a most difficult task to properly translate Hungarian into readable English; that many fine bits of writing in the original are thus sadly marred. If the reader would be fair he will remember to look at the English translation with lenient eyes.

"A Hungarian Nabob" is one of the most popular of Jökai's works among his own people and the translator has done very creditable work in putting the true meaning of the novel before the English speaking peoples. The work has been, however, so much reduced and abbreviated that it no longer remains a finished production. In fact it is a series of broken sketches with just enough connection between them to arrest attention. Some of the characters are drawn with admirable skill and our author handles the passions of man and woman without gloves. Some scenes may appear too gross, but we must not forget that the Hungarian is not a good sample of the finished and polished gentleman. He lives an out-of-door life that is almost barbaric and Jökai simply draws his pictures from real life.

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*Wedlock.* By JOHN STRANGE WINTER. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. 75 cents.

While there is nothing either remarkable or particularly brilliant about this book, it is none the less a very worthy production. Those who seek the morbid, and, judging by contraries, might perhaps expect to find it here hiding its ugly head under the cloak of a respectable title will be disappointed. What the author has undertaken is to draw a sharp contrast between the marriage of convenience and the true union of mutual love, respect and consideration; to show the miserable, degrading and unnatural associations of the former and the beauty and sacredness of the latter. To this end he lays his plot and carries it through with considerable effect. If the book is not one which will be long remembered, at least it is one which suggests some wholesome thoughts.

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*The Godhood of Man.* By NICOLAI MIKALOWITCH. Chicago: Published by the Author.

Without liking this book, indeed disapproving emphatically much in its treatment, we are yet free to say that it has interested us more than a little. The author, who writes under an *nom-de-plume*, is a Chicago lawyer, and judging from his book a man quite free from the cramping influence of conventionality. Not only this but he shows a knowledge of the world's history and a good comprehension of the laborious efforts of mankind to rise to a higher level. When he himself comes down from his millenium to every day life, and is forced to meet present conditions, he is doubtless an ardent reformer and socialist, and probably very restive at the conservatism and slowness to act of other equally conscientious men.

This book is written as an allegory, and is a clever piece of work. The actors in it are an old priest and two individuals, who come down to mother earth from Mars, the date being the year 9981. The book contains so much of truth and wisdom, and paints existing social and industrial conditions so faithfully that it wins our favor despite many intemperate passages which in our opinion do not serve their intended purpose, but will surely arouse indignation and opposition in the majority of readers. Doubtless the author feels that prejudice and ignorant conservatism can be dislodged only by a rude shock, but we differ with him in this. And where the question is of religious belief it is particularly necessary to approach it in a reverential spirit. To write God with a little g and to speak of religious faith in a derisive way is no argument and accomplishes no good. A great English scientist found this out early in his career and learned that a prerequisite of successful teaching is the respect of those to be taught. The author, who is doubtless more or less a disciple of this same man, will do well to profit by his example.

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*Baby.* By FRANCES SHELDON BOLTON. New Haven, Conn.: James R. Bolton & Co. 50 cents.

Since common sense is rare and not very freely distributed among those intrusted with the nurture of infant humanity, the primer instruction in this little book is not amiss, nor can we

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afford to smile in astonishment when Mrs. Bolton placidly instructs us that the young child requires as cleanly care as is given to a stalled animal. The writer probably knows that her classes are mostly not out of the primary, and that Sairy Gamp is still admitted to many a nursery (more is the pity). Loving mothers we have and faithful, but unfortunately not so wise but that this little book can and should bring to them most helpful service, and we wish it wide and speedy circulation.

### How's This?

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### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

The Woolfall Company, New York, announce for immediate publication "The Life of Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N., from Montpelier to Manila." The material furnished for this work has been in preparation for some time, the author being a member of the Dewey family. The book will contain a large amount of hitherto unpublished matter gathered from the personal correspondence of George Dewey during his thirty-seven years' service as an officer of the United States Navy.

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The *Pall Mall Magazine* has sent William Archer to the United States for the purpose of writing a short series of articles on the stage in America.

We hope these articles may redeem some other features of the magazine which, in our opinion, stand greatly in need of improvement. The best thing about the magazine are the very excellent illustrations of interesting subjects that it usually contains.

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Richard Garnett, who has for years been connected with the British Museum, since 1890, as Keeper of the Printed Books, has resigned his position. His ready knowledge of books and authors, and his never failing courtesy and kindness won for him the admiration and friendship of all who had occasion to avail of his services.

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A. C. McClurg & Co. have in press "The Bee People." This is a story of bee life for the young folk, written by Margaret W. Morley upon the plan which has been quite popular of late. In it she introduces the members of the hive in the guise of speaking characters. Another book to be published shortly by the same house is "Those Dale Girls," a novel by Frances W. Carruth.

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A forthcoming work of interest to those who follow the literature of our social questions is entitled "Pauperizing the Rich," by Alfred J. Ferris, of Philadelphia. It is a critical study of the central social problem from a new standpoint, with a definite proposal towards its solution. Its aim, as stated in the preface, is to be "as conservative as the Liberty and Property Defense League and as radical as the Socialists."

\*\*\*

D. Appleton & Co. have just ready several contributions to their successful publications in series. "General Sherman," by Gen. M. F. Force, edited by James Grant Wilson, is added to the Great Commanders Series; Susan E. Blow's "Letters to a Mother," to The International Education Series, and Joseph Jacob's "The Story of Geographical Discovery" to The Library of Useful Stories.

\*\*\*

Readers of these columns will remember that some time since we reviewed "When Knighthood was in Flower," a novel which appeared with much blare of trumpets and which indeed possessed very considerable merit and character. Its publishers—The Bowen-Merrill Co.—announce that the forty-second thousand is now in press, and state that the real name of the author, who wrote as Edwin Caskoden and as if a real character in the story, is Charles Major.

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\*\*

*Literature*, in its new series, published by Harper & Brothers, presents a very handsome appearance typographically. In general make-up it suggests the style of some English weeklies. Devoted exclusively to literary topics, which it treats with much ability, it should appeal strongly to the book reading public. What its circulation is we do not know, as it is the established policy of the Harpers not to announce circulations of any of their periodicals, but judging from appearance and character of contents, *Literature* would appear more deserving of advertising patronage than some other literary papers which carry large book advertisements. It seems rather remarkable, therefore, that it should present such a paucity of advertisements.

\*\*

Ostrogorski's "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties" has been translated from the French by Frederick Clarke, formerly Taylorian Scholar in the University of Oxford. The work contains an introduction by the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M. P., author of "The American Commonwealth," and is published by The Macmillan Company.

\*\*

An interesting book just published by the New Amsterdam Book Co. is "Two Native Narratives of the Indian Mutiny in Delhi." There have been innumerable English histories of the great Sepoy Rebellion, but this is the only native account we know of that has been given in the English language.

\*\*

Among the books to be published in the spring by Little, Brown and Co., are a new historical romance of the time of Henry of Navarre, by William Henry Johnson, entitled "King or Knave, Which Wins?" "In Vain," by Henryk Sienkiewicz, author of "Quo Vadis," translated from the Polish by Jeremiah Curtin; "Pastor Naudie's Young Wife," translated from the French of Edouard Rod, by Bradley Gilman; "The Nabob," translated from the French of Alphonse Daudet, by George Burnham Ives, with an introduction by Brander Matthews; three volumes in the new collected Library Edition of the works of Edward Everett Hale.

\*\*

The statement made some time since by Andrew Lang to the effect that a critic has not time to read a book and therefore cannot be expected to know whether it is good, bad or indifferent, and that for his part he did not much care whether his criticisms were just or the reverse, has naturally occasioned not a little stir among other wielders of the pen of criticism. Certainly such a bold admission by a widely known critic, is calculated to upset that child-like faith in the infallibility of the average reviewer and make people ask how far the critic's judgment rests on actual knowledge, and how far it is, biased by prejudice, business considerations and other more or less potent reasons. Of course it cannot be expected that any poor mortal, laboring under the stern necessity of grinding out so many columns of copy within the minimum of time, can even read, let alone thoroughly digest, the stack of books he is supposed to pass judgment upon. Wherever and so long as this system of driving prevails it may be safely assumed that the criticisms will be superficial and often unjust. As every conscientious reviewer (and there are some such) well knows, a first opinion of a book often gives place to a radically different one before the end is reached.

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\*\*

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\*\*

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\*\*

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\*\*

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\*\*

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\*\*

Honest men often go to law for their right; when wise men would sit down with the wrong, supposing the first loss least. In some countries the course of the courts is so tedious and the expense so high that the remedy, *justice*, is worse than *injustice*, the disease. In my travels I once saw a sign called *The Two Men at Law*. One of them was painted on one side, in a melancholy posture, all in rags, with this scroll: *I have lost my cause*. The other was drawn capering for joy, on the other side, with these words: *I have gained my suit*; but he was stark naked.

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

UNDER THREE FLAGS; or, The Story of My Life. By Rev. George W. Pepper. Pp. 542. Cincinnati, O.: Curtis & Jennings.

THE BLACK DOUGLAS. By S. R. Crockett. Pp. 479; illustrated. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.50.

A VOYAGE TO THE MOON. By Monsieur Cyrano de Bergerac. Pp. 219. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 50 cents net.



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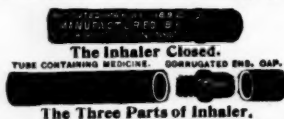
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IN HELL AND THE WAY OUT. A Non-partisan, Political Handbook. Pp. 64. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 10 cents.

UNCLE SAM IN BUSINESS. By Daniel Bond. Pp. 64. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 10 cents.

A NEW ENGLAND BOYHOOD. By Edward E. Hale. Pp. 267. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.

SIELANKA; A Forest Picture, and Other Stories. By Henryk Sienkiewicz. Authorized translation by Jeremiah Curtin. Pp. 592. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.00.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM. By Morrison I. Swift. Pp. 64. Los Angeles, Cal.: Public Ownership Review. 10 cents.

TABERNACLE SHADOWS of the "Better Sacrifices." A Helping Hand for the Royal Priesthood. Pp. 131. Allegheny, Pa.: Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. 10 cents.

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